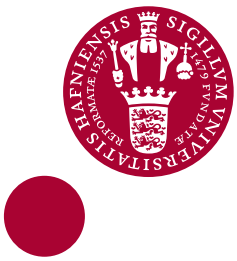

High- and Low-Risk Activism

Differential Participation in a Refugee Solidarity Movement

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Title: High- and Low-Risk Activism: Differential Participation in a Refugee Solidarity Movement[1]

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Abstract

This article presents a quantitative study of differential participation in low- and high-risk activism in the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement. Distinguishing between participation in low- and high-risk activism, it shows the fruitfulness of combining three theoretical sets of explanations related to 1) values, 2) microstructures, and 3) emotions that are often considered competing. It analyzes data from a unique survey of 1,856 respondents recruited via Facebook. The results show that participation in low- and high-risk activities strongly correlates but is influenced by different factors: In the recruitment process for low-risk activities, the most important factors are 1) emotional reactions, 2) structural availability, and 3) predispositions in the form of basic human values. With regard to high-risk activity, the important factors are 1) prior history of activism and 2) emotional reaction. Values, microstructures, and emotions interact in relation to participation in both kinds of activism which points to promising avenues for integrating and developing the theoretical framework of differential recruitment and participation.

[1] The authors would like to thank Ph.D.-Fellow Hjalmar Bang Carlsen and Associate Professor Nicole Doerr, both Department of Sociology University of Copenhagen, as well as Professor Doug McAdam, Department of Sociology, Stanford University, for invaluable comments and suggestions along the way. We also wish to thank the reviewers and editors for insightful and detailed critiques and suggestions that have been most useful.

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1. Introduction

For decades, differential recruitment has been one of the core questions in social movement research (Marx and Wood 1975; Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980). Differential recruitment was first formulated as a question of why some people "rather than others [are] recruited into a particular social movement organization." (Snow, Zurcher, and Ekland-Olson 1980, 787). Eventually, the concept has also come to include the question of what determines the types of activities in which activists are participating, that is, differential participation (cf. Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Passy 2001; Passy and Giugni 2001). In combination, we get the fundamental question of whether there is a relationship between how people are recruited to a movement and the activities in which they participate within the movement.

This article focuses on differential participation in relation to the risks[3] involved in different types of activity. At least since Doug McAdam's influential study of the Freedom Summer campaign (McAdam 1986, 1988; Fernandez and McAdam 1988), the risk parameter[4] has been central to the question of differential recruitment and participation. However, most studies only concern either high-risk (e.g., McAdam 1986; Nepstad and Smith 1999) or low-risk activity (e.g., Dauphinais, Barkan, and Cohn 1992; Tindall 2002). Because many movement repertoires include both low- *and* high-risk activism, it appears highly relevant to include both types of activities in the same study. Some studies operationalize the risk distinction as a single dimension and measure the degree of risk on a continuous scale (e.g., Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). While its relevance to many of the im-

[3] McAdam defines risk as follows: "Risk refers to the anticipated dangers - whether legal, social, physical, financial, and so forth - of engaging in a particular type of activity." (McAdam 1986:67).

[4] McAdam differentiated between activities not only with regard to risk, but also to the related cost. In this paper, we leave the question of the cost of activism aside and focus on risk for the sake of simplicity and because it is, in this case, quite difficult to assess the cost of the different activities. For instance, the activity of collecting and donating may vary in cost from a few euros to hundreds, and in some rare cases thousands, of euros. However, the risk does not vary to the same extent. This said, in Wiltfang and McAdam's (1991) study of a similar case, they show that cost and risk of activism correlate to a high degree. Thus, it is plausible that the findings in this paper also hold true in relation to the cost of activism, but, to settle this question, more studies are needed.

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portant research questions appears undeniable, this approach, however, does not allow for an analysis of whether different factors relate differently to the process of recruitment for each kind of activism. To do this, low- and high-risk activities must be conceived as qualitatively different (but empirically related) factors. Following this line of reasoning, the present study of differential participation in the 2015 Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement operationalizes low- and high-risk activism as separate dependent variables in the same statistical model.

Since the 1970s, three approaches to understanding differential recruitment and participation have unfolded in the following approximate chronological order. First, the *values* approach (van Deth and Scarbrough 1995a; van Deth 1995; Schwartz 1992; Barnes and Kaase 1979; Stern et al. 1999) has shown how the basic values of individuals conceptualized as preconditions impact upon social movement recruitment. Second, *microstructural explanations* argue that the level of involvement in activism depends on structural availability (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam and Paulsen 1993), movement socialization in networks (Della Porta 1988; McAdam 1986; Simon and Klandermans 2001), and biographical availability (Bruni 2013; McAdam 1986; Schussman and Soule 2005; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991). Third, the *emotions* approach emphasizes the importance of emotions for activism; in particular, how sudden events create moral shocks that can provoke people to become active irrespective of microstructural factors (Flam and King 2005; Jasper 1998; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Della Porta and Giugni 2013). Inspired by this literature, the present study integrates these three approaches into the empirical analysis of differential participation in low- and high-risk activism.

The article makes three key contributions. *First*, participation in low- and high-risk activism is not influenced by the same factors: The level of participation in low-risk activism is strongly influenced by emotional reactions, network embeddedness, and value predisposition, but participation in high-risk activism depends on movement socialization and experience from prior activism and the emotion of responsibility for refugees. Here, value predisposition matters only indirectly, mediated by the

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feeling of responsibility. *Second*, the analyses reveal interactions between variables related to the different theoretical approaches. This, in turn, points to the need for theoretical integration. Based on these discoveries, the paper makes two tentative theoretical propositions suggesting that 1) emotions mediate the influence of embeddedness in networks on participation, and 2) that it is fruitful to introduce "ethical emotions" as a new category distinct from moral emotions in order to capture profound differences in the functioning of different emotions. *Third*, the study provides an important insight into the recently revitalized Western Refugee Solidarity Movement. Given the current attempts from most Western governments and the European Union to limit the number of refugees in Europe, combined with right-wing mobilization across the continent and in the United States, the Refugee Solidarity Movement is likely to make a lasting impact as opposition to these tendencies.

Case description: The September 2015 Mobilization

Our case is the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement that gained strong momentum in September 2015 as a consequence of the arrival of large numbers of refugees. The Danish movement is a case of wider European mobilizations of refugee solidarity activism (e.g., Hamann and Karakayali 2016; Zechner and Hansen 2016; Karakayali 2017; Fleischmann and Steinhilper 2017; Agustín and Bak Jørgensen 2018; Della Porta 2018; Dines, Montagna, and Vacchelli 2018; Lahusen and Grasso 2018b; Thomas et al. 2018). In methodological terms, we argue that this case is strategic for an analysis of participation in low- and high-risk activism as well as the three aforementioned theoretical approaches for the following four reasons.

1. *Activity*: As described in Table 1, the movement has a broad repertoire including low-risk activism (for instance, collecting and donating clothes, food, and money to the refugees, organizing cultural events aimed at integrating the refugees into Danish society, and traditional protest activities such as petitioning and demonstrating) as well as high-risk activities (for instance, assisting underground refugees and other forms of civil disobedience). This makes it a strategic case for analyzing

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the differences and similarities in recruitment to and participation in low- *and* high-risk activism (see Toubøl (2015, 2017, forthcoming) for more background and context of the movement).

Table 1. Movement repertoire sorted by number of participants in descending order and classified as low- or high-risk activism

Activity	Frequency	Percent	Low- or high-risk
Liking and sharing Facebook posts	1,838	81	Low
Collecting and donating items	1,627	71	Low
Posting on Facebook	1,545	68	Low
Intercultural activity	1,267	56	Low
Collecting and donating money	1,217	53	Low
Petitioning	1,137	50	Low
Contact person for refugees	993	44	Low
Demonstrations and events	695	30	Low
Legal assistance	439	19	Low
Assisting newly arrived refugees	235	10	Low
Economic support to underground refugees	161	7	High
Refugees living in private home	126	6	High
Civil disobedience/direct action	104	5	High
Other support to underground refugees	95	4	High
Illegal transportation of refugees	37	2	High
Hiding refugees from authorities	36	2	High

Notes: Total n=2,283

2. *Values:* It is likely that humanistic values such as solidarity and compassion act as a mobilizing force in the case of the refugee solidarity movement (Tazreiter 2010; Boltanski 1999). This is so because the movement is party to the struggle between the political values of humanism and nationalism (Joas 2013; Hamann and Karakayali 2016; Fleischmann and Steinhilper 2017; Doerr 2017) which clash in relation to the issues of refugees and immigration and shape motivations for solidarity activism (Fernández G. G. 2018). Recent studies confirm that in general political attitudes, generalized social trust and religiosity are important preconditions for solidarity activism (Trenz and Grasso 2018; Lahusen and Grasso 2018a) and show that the class of refugee solidarity activism, compared to

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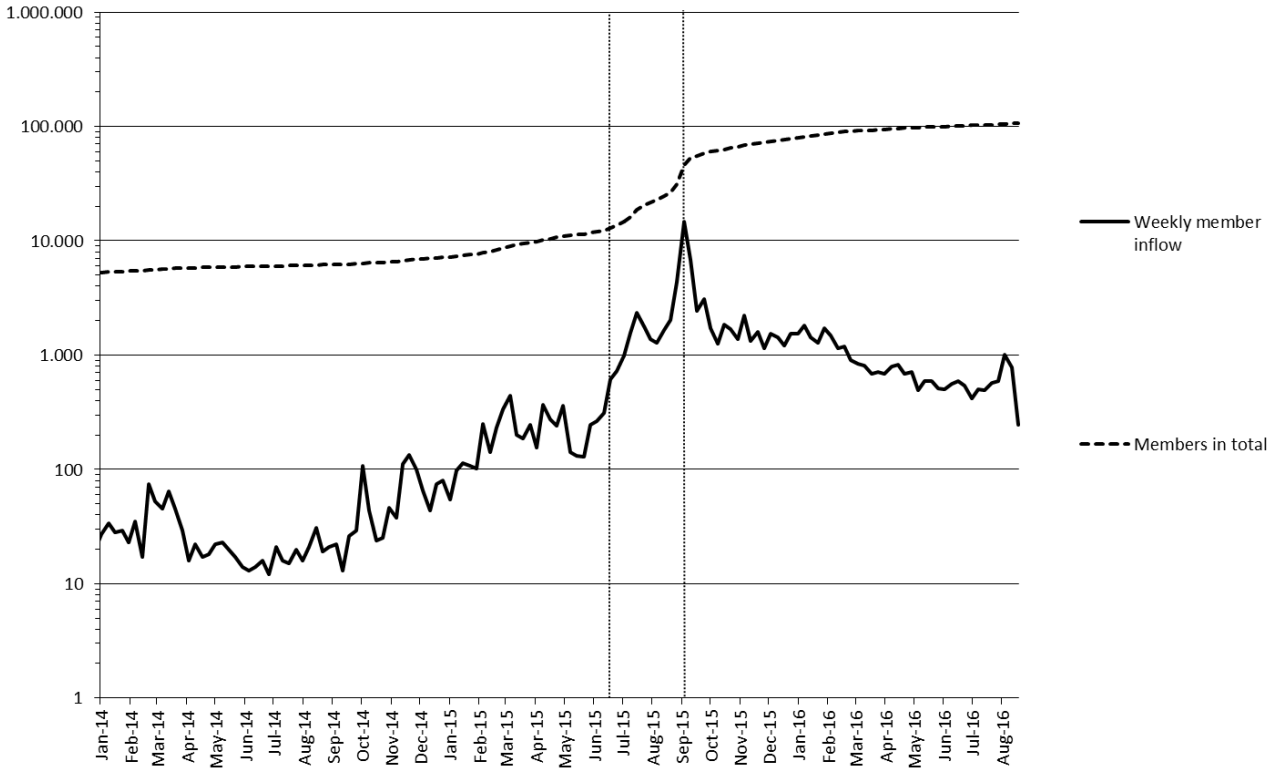
solidarity with other groups, is the most polarized by political attitude and generalized social trust (Maggini 2018; Kiess, Lahusen, and Zschache 2018; Kalogeraki 2018).

Figure 1. New members in Facebook groups related to the movement per week and cumulatively



3. *Networks*. Before the September 2015 mobilization, the Refugee Solidarity Movement had a history that dated back to the early 1980s (Toubøl 2017, chap. 4). Therefore, when the September 2015 mobilization occurred, networks and activists with significant experience already existed. As Figure 1 depicts, the movement expanded through 2014 and 2015 due to increasing numbers of refugees combined with dissatisfaction with the government's refugee policy. The growth accelerated after the election of a new anti-immigration government in June 2015 (first dropline in Figure 1), and, at the September mobilization (second dropline in Figure 1), local groups were already established nationwide (Toubøl 2017, 2015). Thus, the buildup and development of a comprehensive movement infrastructure before September 2015 makes it a favorable case for an analysis of the impact of structural availability and the individual history of activism on differential participation, given that we can

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expect the activist population to be a mix of stalwarts, returners, repeaters, and novices (Saunders et al. 2012).

4. *Emotions*: Studies have found that emotions are, in particular, important to the mobilization of refugee solidarity activism (Rosenberger and Winkler 2014; Karakayali 2017). The refugee solidarity movement emerged in relation to a particular dramatic event: Between September 6-30, 2015, the Danish police estimate that at least 21,000 refugees crossed the Danish borders (Rigspolitiet 2015). This took place in a highly unregulated manner. The media broadcast images of large groups of tired refugees in ragged clothes walking on the freeways. There were reports of chaos at the border and turmoil at Copenhagen Central Station. While the authorities and the police seemed bewildered and uncertain about what to do, civil society reacted instantly. Statements and acts of solidarity with the refugees, including civil disobedience and the illegal transportation of refugees, were widespread, and, within a month, the movement's membership on Facebook more than doubled (see Figure 1, second dropline). The drama and the media coverage of these events make it likely that emotional reactions played a crucial role in the sudden outburst of civic action (Thomas et al. 2018), and the case is, therefore, favorable to theories of emotions and, in particular, the moral shock thesis (Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Olesen 2017).

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In section two, we develop our hypothesis with regard to differential participation in low- and high-risk activism as well discuss how micro-structural, emotional, and value-based factors may influence this process. Sections three, four and five present data, methods, and research design. In section six, we turn to the results, and finally, in section seven, we conclude and discuss the findings.

2. Participation in low- and high-risk activism

The core problem of this paper is to identify the factors that influence differential participation in low- and high-risk activism. In this section, we first discuss the relationship between low- and high-

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risk activism, and next, we present theories and hypotheses regarding how factors of values, structural availability, movement socialization, biographical availability, and emotions influence participation in low- and high-risk activism.

In McAdam's seminal works on the Freedom Summer campaign (1986, 1988) and the US Sanctuary Movement (Wiltfang and McAdam 1991), he distinguished between low- and high-risk activity, but, probably due to the relatively radical character of the movements, the focus was on recruitment to high-risk activism. Low-risk activity was theorized primarily as a starting point for recruitment to high-risk activities. More generally, however, it must be expected that not all participants engage in high-risk activities and significant numbers participate only in low-risk activism. This leads to an expectation that there might be at least partially different explanations for low- and high-risk activities in social movements. McAdam also recognizes this: "a plausible case could be made that the mix of structural and attitudinal factors that encourages high-risk/cost activism differs from that characteristic of low-risk/cost activism" (1986, 67). Pat Dewey Dauphinais and colleagues' (1992) investigation of activity in a feminist movement takes this assumption further. They suggest that identification or commitment to movement goals and network embeddedness interact in such a way that high-risk activism is generally unlikely unless the individual has strong ties to activist networks, but it is most likely in the case of a combination of network embeddedness and identification with movement goals. However, low-risk activism may be a consequence of only network embeddedness or only identification with movement goals but is most likely in the case of a combination of both. Thus, recruitment to low-risk activism may occur due either to network embeddedness or identification, whereas recruitment to high-risk activism is usually dependent on network embeddedness.[5] Based on such deliberations, we assume that the difference between low- and high-risk activism is not just a matter of degree in relation to what level of risk an activist is willing to take.

[5] Unfortunately, Dauphinais et al.'s (1992) empirical work only included low-risk activity and therefore they were unable to test their hypothesis of differences between the two types of activity.

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Rather, the two types of activity are qualitatively different and may, therefore, be influenced by different factors.

Following the intuition of recent studies which conceptualize differential participation as a multi-stage process (Van Laer 2017; Schussman and Soule 2005), the next sections go through the theoretical frameworks that explain activism. The presentation is structured along a theoretically based timeline (Davis 1971), which also structures the statistical model presented in Figure 2: First, we introduce the factors that we assume occur closest in time before the activities, namely *emotions*, *biographical availability* (personal constraints that may limit participation), and *structural availability* (networks). Then follows *movement socialization*, (previous experiences with movement culture and related activity), and, finally, the impact of preconditions in the form of *values* which are the product of early general socialization. However, first, we explain the hypothesis on the relationship between high- and low-risk activism.

High- and low-risk activism

McAdam (1988, 1986) argues that engagement in high-risk activities results from a socialization or radicalization process in the activist networks of the movement. The argument is that individuals rarely participate in social movement activities unless they are asked to do so by someone who is already engaged in movement activity (Fernandez and McAdam 1988; McAdam 1986; McAdam and Paulsen 1993; Van Laer 2017; Nepstad and Smith 1999). Once recruited to low-risk activism, and thereby becoming members of an activist network, participation leads to socialization and the development of an activist identity that changes the participants' risk perception and may lead to high-risk activism (Ayanian and Tausch 2016). Here, the process of consciousness-raising and the formation of a politicized collective identity (Simon and Klandermans 2001) in groups and networks of activists take center stage: "It is within these networks that individual processes as grievance formation, strengthening of efficacy, identification and group-based emotions all synthesize into a motivational

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constellation preparing people for action" (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017, 127). In addition to strengthening movement identification, expansion of the activist's history of activism by taking part in more low- and medium-risk activism develops skills and competences that are necessary to participate in riskier activism, which, as a side effect, may also alter the perception of the risks involved. Based on these considerations, we hypothesize that: (1) *low- and high-risk activism are strongly related*.

Emotions and moral shock

The fact that some people without network connections or a history of activism become engaged in activism may be explained by the concept of moral shock (Jasper and Poulsen 1995). According to James Jasper (1998, 409), a moral shock occurs when "an unexpected event or piece of information raises such a sense of outrage in a person that she becomes inclined toward political action, with or without [a] network of personal contacts." Moral shocks are assumed to influence participation primarily in low-risk activism, but it cannot be ruled out that a moral shock may move individuals to engage in high-risk activism. The emotions involved in moral shocks may take different but related forms. The concept of emotions is very broad (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2004; Goodwin and Jasper 2004) which may include, for instance, a distinction between suddenly emerging so-called reflex emotions such as rage or disgust and more stable moral emotions such as compassion or indignation. In this study, we include three moral emotions: compassion; the feeling of responsibility toward the refugees; and anger over the government's lack of an appropriate refugee policy. Even though anger might be defined as a reflex emotion (e.g., Jasper 2011), in this context we conceptualize it as a moral emotion: In the questionnaire,[6] anger was related to the general policy of the gov-

[6] The question concerning the three emotions of compassion, responsibility, and anger was formulated as follows in the questionnaire:
English translation: How did the stories about and the situation of the arrival of the refugees to Denmark in September 2015 affect you? Assess how well the following statements fit you. [Outcome categories: not true at all; fits to a limited extent; fits to some degree; fits well; fits very well; do not know]
[…]

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ernment and the actions of the state. This makes us interpret anger not as a reflex emotion, but rather as a moral emotion related to indignation and moral outrage.

We hypothesize that (2) *individuals who become morally shocked might engage in, primarily, low-risk activism but also high-risk activism without any significant history of activism and with few, if any, network connections*. Following the original intention of the moral shock theory (Jasper and Poulsen 1995), this hypothesis constitutes an alternative to the movement socialization hypothesis, which suggests that activism is the result of a gradual progression from low- to high-risk activism.

Biographical availability

People vary in relation to what McAdam termed biographical availability, that is, the "absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage and family responsibilities" (McAdam 1986, 70). This perspective sounds intuitively correct, but the empirical evidence is mixed and complex (Bruni 2013). For instance, Gregory L. Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) found that, of four indicators of biographical availability, only one was a necessary condition for participation in high-risk activism. Sharon Nepstad and Christian Smith (1999) found no support for the influence of biographical availability on recruitment to high-risk activism. Alan Schussman and Sarah A. Soule (2005) showed that different aspects of biographical availability matter at different stages in the recruitment process. In this study, we include age, occupation, and parenthood as aspects of biographical availability in order to study how each factor, by itself or in combination with the other factors, may impact upon movement ac-

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b. I felt compassion for the refugees
c. I felt a co-responsibility to help refugees
[...]
e. I was angry that the authorities and politicians did not take care of refugees.
(Original Danish: Hvordan blev du påvirket af historierne om og situationen i forbindelse med flygtningenes ankomst til Danmark i september 2015? Vurdér hvor godt følgende udsagn passer på dig. [Udfald: passer slet ikke; passer i begrænset grad; passer i nogen grad; passer i høj grad; passer i meget høj grad; Ved ikke.]
[…]
b. Jeg følte medfølelse med flygtningene
c. Jeg følte et medansvar for at hjælpe flygtningene
[…]
e. Jeg blev vred over at myndigheder og politikere ikke tog hånd om flygtningene.)

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tivism. We expect that (3) *biographical availability is positively associated with involvement in low- as well as high-risk activism*.

Structural availability

Networks that encourage people to participate are often referred to as a person's structural availability (Schussman and Soule 2005) to denote the structural-connection function of networks (Passy 2001, 174) when networks connect potential participants to opportunities for mobilization (Van Laer 2017). Such networks can consist of social relations between individuals, or they may be organizational when a formal organization or association encourages people to take part in movement activity. For instance, general engagement in voluntary associations may increase movement participation (Dekker, Koopmans, and Broek 1997; Schussman and Soule 2005). In his theoretical framework, McAdam (1986) argued that structural availability was crucial to the recruitment to activist networks in relation to low-risk activism (Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995; Tindall 2002). Subsequently, membership in the network would imply the socialization of an activist identity, which would pave the way for participation in high-risk activism, but structural availability was not assumed to influence participation directly in high-risk activism (See section below and also Sherry Cable [1992] and David B. Tindall [2002]). Based on McAdam's theory, we hypothesize that (4) *structural availability (personal and organizational networks) is positively associated with participation in low-risk activism*.

Movement socialization

People who have been members of a social movement are more likely to participate in other movements (Klingemann and Fuchs 1995). For instance, this has been shown in relation to terrorism (Della Porta 1988), protests among farmers (De Weerd and Klandermans 1999; Klandermans et al. 2002), and student protests (Hirsch 1990). We assume that these processes are particularly important for people who have previously been active in a movement similar to the present one, in this case, a refugee solidarity movement.

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In relation to the risk of activism, socialization principally relates to high-risk activism. Socialization is assumed to result in strengthened identification with the movement's goal and ideology (McAdam 1986; Simon and Klandermans 2001; van Stekelenburg, Klandermans, and van Dijk 2011), as well as acquiring skills and experience which, cumulatively, will lead to a higher propensity to engage in high-risk activism due to altered risk perception. These considerations lead to the hypothesis that (5) *the longer the history of activism, the more likely the participation in high-risk activism.*

Values

The concept of social values varies within and between disciplines (van Deth and Scarbrough 1995b), and it has been used in a variety of ways such as to understand general social change as, for instance, in Ronald Inglehart's theory of the transition from materialist to post-materialist values (Inglehart 2008, 1990, 1977) or in rational choice theories in which it is understood as the way actors are motivated to pursue instrumental goods (Hechter 1994). Also, in studies of solidarity activism, several studies show that values in different forms are an important precondition for activism (Lahusen and Grasso 2018b). In the context of this study of how values may relate to altruistic solidarity activism, we draw on a third position related to the work of Shalom Schwartz, who has developed one of the more widely used value theories. Schwartz argues that values are beliefs that refer to desirable goals and transcend specific situations (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987; Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz 2008). In this perspective, values are predispositions that may or may not lead to political actions and emotional reactions (Schwartz 1992; van Deth 1995). They act as general guiding principles in life, and they are largely shaped by pre-adult socialization (Stern et al. 1995).

Inspired by Milton Rokeach's (1973) seminal work, Schwartz (Schwartz 1994) identifies four fundamental groups of values: openness to change, self-enhancement, conservation, and self-transcendence. Two of the important elements that distinguish Schwartz's theory from other value theories are 1) that he understands values as interdependent because they stand in opposition to each

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other and 2) that the content aspect that distinguishes among values is the type of motivational goal they express.

In relation to environmental political activism, inspired by Schwartz's work, Paul C. Stern and associates have developed the so-called VBN theory (Value-Belief-Norm) to understand the relationship between values and pro-environmental activity or the propensity to act pro-environmentally (Stern et al. 1995, 1999). They see environmental concern as a stimulation of the fundamental value of altruism (self-transcendence) that activates norms by belief in specific environmental conditions. Values have both direct effects on behavior and indirect effects through beliefs (Stern et al. 1995; Stern 1999).

To operationalize and interpret Schwartz's theory of values in relation to the specific case of solidarity activism, we introduce the ethical theory of Danish philosopher Knud Ejler Løgstrup (1997, 2007). We propose that Løgstrup's ethics provide a plausible explanation of how Schwartz's value groups of self-transcendence and self-enhancement are actualized in the inter-subjective relationships and may influence participation in solidarity activism. Elsewhere, in relation to the same case, we have discussed why Løgstrup's theory is well suited to explain the particular kind of altruistic behavior involved in solidarity activism (Toubøl 2017, chap. 6).

Løgstrup argues that people who enter a relationship always have an obligation to care for the Other. He calls this the ethical demand. The ethical demand arises out of the fact that, when people interact, they always have some element of power over one another. This possession of power over the Other in the relationship creates a demand to care for the Other because, otherwise, the basic trust that is necessary for us to engage in interaction and relationships would perish. Without a minimum level of trust, human beings could not engage in relationships with each another, which would make human social life impossible.

Løgstrup uses the term "view of life" to denote the factors that determine people's propensity to act ethically and care for the Other, for instance, by spontaneously helping a refugee. If we recognize

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that our life depends on others due to the power we hold over each other in all relations, Løgstrup argues that we view "life as given to us" by the people to whom we relate. If, on the other hand, we deny this dependency, we view ourselves as what Løgstrup calls the "master of our own life." The more a person views life as something that is given, the stronger he or she feels a responsivity to the ethical demand to care for the Other in a given situation. Conversely, a person who believes him- or herself to be a master of his or her own life will be less responsive to the ethical demand (Løgstrup 1997, 127–36). Therefore, we assume that a person's view of life will influence the emotions that occur when a person is confronted with a person in need, in turn leading to activism. However, in some cases, emotional reactions may not be needed to induce activism. In such cases, emotions do not mediate between the ethical demand and activity, and we would expect the view of life to directly influence participation in activism.

The abstract ethical principles suggested by Løgstrup offer a detailed theoretical interpretation of values as predispositions for solidarity movement activity. The two views of life correspond well with the two sets of values in Schwartz's scheme of self-transcendence (Universalism and Benevolence), which entails concern for the welfare and interests of others, and self-enhancement (Power and Achievement), which involves self-interest (Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz 2008).[7] In accordance with Løgstrup, these two sets of values represent antagonistic poles of the same dimension. Following the findings that commitment, attitudes, and ideology are good predictors of low-risk activism (e.g., Dauphinais, Barkan, and Cohn 1992; Barkan, Cohn, and Whitaker 1995), we hypothesize that (6) *adherence to the value of life as given directly increases the likelihood of involvement in low-risk activism and indirectly through emotional reactions*.

[7] Definition of values: "POWER: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources. ACHIEVEMENT: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards […] UNIVERSALISM: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. BENEVOLENCE: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact" (Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz 2008, 424 Table 1).

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After this presentation of the three theoretical perspectives of microstructural explanations, emotions, and values, we turn to a description of the data, statistical procedures, and variable operationalization involved in the empirical analysis.

3. Data

The Refugee Solidarity Movement has no formal membership and, therefore, it is not possible to assess the population for this study. However, Facebook is an essential characteristic of the movement, and, in this study, we limit the movement's population to people who are members of Facebook forums (groups and sites) related to the movement (in addition to a few people who were contacted directly by Facebook forum members, cf. below). Facebook groups and sites have been the primary vehicle for organizing and coordinating the movement. Facebook is the movement's platform for protesting and voicing opinions, confronting politicians, petitioning or organizing other activities. Therefore, in contrast to research that sees social media merely as a tool for organizing existing movement activities (Harlow 2012; Obar, Zube, and Lampe 2012), we find that Facebook is an integral part of the movement. The dominance of Facebook as the medium for communication in the movement (and, as such, in the Danish society (Tassy 2016), means that, in all likelihood, limiting the sampling frame to Facebook forums only excludes a very small number of movement activists.

We identified Facebook forums that are part of the movement by a keyword search.[8] A total of 310 Facebook forums were identified. The number of members in a group ranged from fewer than 100 to more than 40,000. The total membership across all groups numbered more than 100,000 people as of June 2016, when the data collection took place. The data collection proceeded as follows: the administrators of 310 forums were asked for permission to post a link to the survey in the Face-

[8] Keywords: *refugee* (flygtning), *asylum* (asyl), *racism* (racism), *foreigner* (udlænding), *Venligbo* (the Danish nomination for a large and new social movement which has kindness toward refugees and others in need as its central goal), *friends of refugees* (flygtningevenner), *intercultural* (interkulturel), *the Red Cross* (Røde Kors), *the Red Cross Youth* (Røde Kors Ungdom), *the Danish Refugee Council* (Dansk Flygtningehjælp), *DFUNK* (the Danish Refugee Council's youth organization), *Frivillignet* (the Danish Refugee Council volunteer organizations), *Save The Children* (Red Barnet), *Save The Children Youth* (Red Barnet Ungdom), and *Amnesty International*.

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book forum. In total, 281 administrators reacted positively to this request, while 29 administrators either did not respond or declined to post the link. The questionnaire consisted of 73 questions. It was accessed 16,092 times, and 2,289 people at least partially completed the questionnaire. Of these, 1,856 respondents gave valid answers to all of the items considered in this study.

During the data collection, several Facebook forum administrators sent the link to the online questionnaire to movement members who were not on Facebook. This resulted in responses from 42 non-Facebook users. Aside from being, on average, three years older, a higher proportion of men, and, quite naturally, with a lower participation in Facebook and online activities (in particular activity one and three and, to some extent activities two, five, and six of Table 1), the non-Facebook-user respondents are not significantly different from the Facebook-user respondents. Without being conclusive, we take this as an indication that the sampling frame's exclusion of the non-Facebook-user population is likely not to be problematic in relation to the present study.

It follows from the described data collection procedure that the respondents were self-selected, and it would thus be erroneous to consider them a representative sample of the movement. It seems likely that the respondents are, in general, more active in the movement than people who did not answer the questionnaire. Such bias is inevitable when respondents select themselves for a study. However, in the subsequent empirical analysis, we are not interested in generalizing variable distributions from the sample to the population, but rather in focusing on the relationships between variables, and it is probable that the relationship between the variables shows less biased characteristics based on the respondents than would be the case with the variable distributions (Søgaard et al. 2004).

4. Statistical method

The focus of this study is to understand the relationship between high- and low-risk activities as well as to identify the independent variables that, individually or in combination, influence each (or both)

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of the dependent variables. This raises at least two issues in relation to the measurement of social processes in a cross-sectional study.

1. Asking respondents about the past. When studying social processes, the optimal design is the panel study (cf. McAdam 1986; De Weerd and Klandermans 1999). However, since the September mobilization was impossible to predict, such a design was not possible in this case. Instead, the survey includes several questions which distinguish between before and after the September mobilization. This procedure has, however, some methodological limitations. It presupposes that the respondents can remember what they did, thought, or felt around six months before the data collection took place. This may cause measurement errors, as research has documented that people often have difficulties in recalling events that took place several months ago. Such problems are, however, more likely to occur when people are asked to remember everyday activities, while there is evidence that important emotional and personal experiences increase the likelihood of having accurate memories (Belli 2014; Bradburn, Rips, and Shevell 1987; Schwarz and Oyserman 2001). The September mobilization was a unique event that is not likely to be forgotten by the people involved. Furthermore, the timing of the event was well-known to all participants, and there was extremely high media exposure. Therefore, we contend that the recall inaccuracies in this project may be smaller than in most other studies.

Another difficulty is that the respondents' rationalization may cause measurement errors (Devetag 1999; Lodge and Taber 2013). The present project shares this tricky problem with many other projects, but we try to take the possible bias from rationalization into account in the interpretations of the analyses.

2. *Mutually reinforcing relationships.* As discussed in the theory section, it seems likely there are many mutually reinforcing processes between participation in low- and high-risk activities as well as between values, emotions, and networks in this study. Since this is a cross-sectional study, the dy-

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namic processes challenge the analysis. In this study, we model the reinforcing process by assuming that some of the relationships between the variables are not causal but reciprocal.

The theory also leads us to expect interaction effects between most of the variables and, additionally, as in most survey studies, the variables are measured on a nominal or ordinal level. In many survey studies, researchers ignore such limitations and use regression models irrespective of the violations of the assumptions about variables and their relations (Ron 2002). However, we prefer to use a different statistical method, which allows both causal and reciprocal relationships between the variables and that can handle nominal and ordinal variables.

The method is based on chain graphical models (Lauritzen 1996) and uses the DIGRAM software (Kreiner 1986, 1987, 1996, 2003). DIGRAM is a probability-based adaption of the principles of classic elaboration analysis (Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg 1955; Davis 1971; Aneshensel 2012)[9] and performs an analysis of a multidimensional contingency table based on all variables in the model. DIGRAM's chain graphical model technique has several advantages. 1) There are no statistical requirements for the measurement level and distribution of the variables. 2) The model can include several dependent variables at the same time. 3) All variables are included in the model from the beginning of the analysis. 4) All interactions between the variables are included in the model.

Initially, the analysis assumes relationships between all variables. Step by step, the insignificant edges are deleted. Following each step, the significance of the remaining edges is recomputed, new edges are deleted, and so forth until all the remaining edges are significant and the final result is reached. Finally, the model is scrutinized focusing on the robustness of the edges representing relationships critical to the guiding theoretical hypothesis. The model is based on log-linear analysis, and the significance of the test results is evaluated by Monte Carlo tests. Partial γ-coefficients are used to measure the associations. The final model is presented as a graph that includes only significant edges - each characterized by a partial γ-coefficient.

[9] A ZIP file of the program, the user guide and examples of use may be downloaded from http://publicifsv.sund.ku.dk/~skm/, accessed December 20, 2016)

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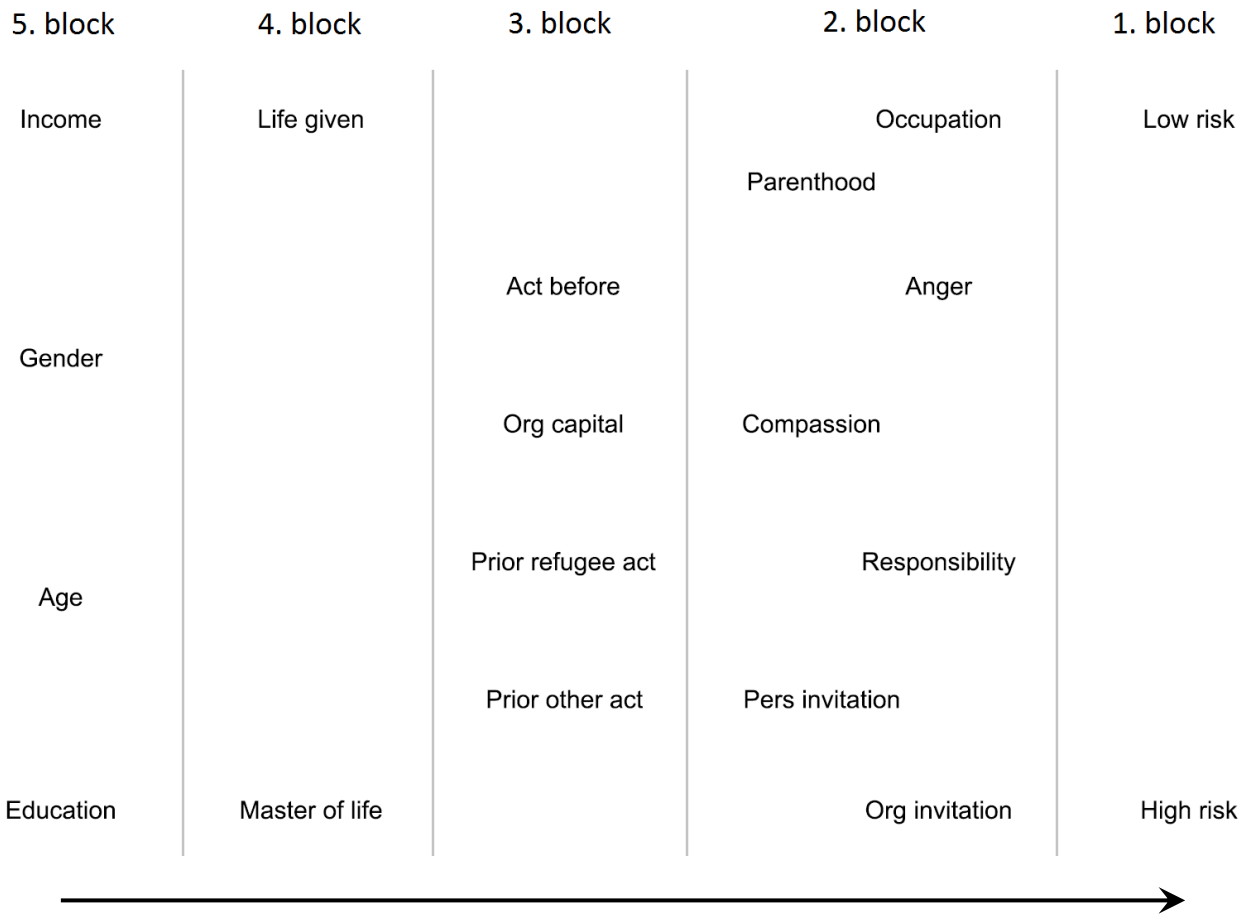
Since we are analyzing a non-probability sample of people who have self-selected to participate in the survey, the interpretation of statistical inference should be discussed. As mentioned, it is not possible to generalize from the sample to the entire movement population, and the level of significance does not relate the degree of sampling error. Therefore, in our analysis, we primarily rely on the size of the correlation coefficients and consider the level of significance only as a less important tool for estimating the robustness of the correlations.

Figure 2. Recursive block model



Note: Vertical, grey lines indicate the blocks of variables. Bottom arrow indicated the theoretically assumed direction of the relationship between the blocks.

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5. Variables, operationalization, and model[10]

This section presents the variables and their relationships in the recursive block structure of the statistical model, cf. Figure 2.

Block one on the far right-hand side includes the two dependent variables: 1) number of *low-risk activities* and 2) number of *high-risk activities*. The variables measure the degree of participation in low- and high-risk activities by counting the number of kinds of activities in which the respondent has been involved during and after the September mobilization (cf. Table 1 in section 1. Introduction). The classification of activity in the two types of risk is what Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) call objective, that is, the researcher determines the character of risk (low or high) of a given activity.[11] Of the 16 activities listed in Table 1, six are regarded as high-risk and ten as low-risk activities. Following the movement socialization hypothesis, we assume that, in most cases, people will start by being engaged in low-risk activities and this may lead to high-risk activities. However, based on theories of emotions and activism as hypothesized above, the alternative sequence going from high- to low-risk may occur. Therefore, the relationship is assumed to be reciprocal.

Block two includes the factors that we assume have a direct influence on the decision to engage in activism: emotional reaction, biographical availability, and network effects (another component of structural availability, network embeddedness, is placed in block three). The variables based on the moral shock theory measure the emotional reactions to the events in September. The reactions included are *compassion* for the refugees, a feeling of *responsibility* to help, and *anger* toward the government's lack of support for the refugees.

Biographical availability has two components: *Parenthood* is a binary variable that measures whether the respondent has children living at home; the respondent's *occupation* is designed to

[10] See online supplementary material for a description of all the variables in the final model.

[11] Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) found that it did not make a significant difference whether risk was assigned objectively (by the researcher) or subjectively (by the respondent).

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measure the degree of time-consuming obligations at work. Occupation is also binary, distinguishing between a) full-time employment and self-employment, and b) other types of occupation.

Finally, in this block, structural availability is measured by two types of direct impact from the respondent's networks: *personal network* that measures invitations to participate from family, friends, colleagues or other activists, and *organizational network* in which respondents were encouraged to participate in the movements by a voluntary association, for instance, at a meeting or in a newsletter.

Block three measures the respondent's structural availability as being embedded in an activist network and organizational capital, as well as activist socialization in the form of a history of activism. The respondents were asked if they were *active before September* 2015, which enabled us to distinguish between those who were already embedded in a refugee solidarity activist network and those who were newcomers in September 2015 or later. It should be noted that, even though network embeddedness is primarily operationalized as a measure of structural availability, it is also likely that it measures the socialization that is associated with being active in a group of political activists. *Organizational capital* measures membership and level of activity in all types of civil society voluntary associations. Both operationalizations are assumed to measure structural availability. From the timeline perspective guiding the model, both are prior to the variables of direct network effects of invitations from personal and organizational networks, which are placed in block two.

The history of activism includes movement socialization as well as experience and know-how of carrying out activities. Here, we use a question from the International Social Survey Program that measures participation in various kinds of political activism. The question orders the activities chronologically, distinguishing between activities during the last year and further back in time. As the data were collected six to nine months after the September mobilization, the item enables a rough measure of the history of activism prior to this. We also ask whether the prior activism was related to

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refugee solidarity issues. The result is two variables distinguishing between *prior activism related to the refugee issue* and *other prior activism*.

Block four consists of two variables measuring the values of the respondents. We construct the variable *life is given* by four items replicated from the basic value orientations of universalism and benevolence, and the variable *master of one's life* by four items of the basic value orientations of achievement and power. As explained in the theory section (Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz 2008), the items are adopted from the European Social Survey that includes Schwartz's human value scale.

Finally, block five consists of various of socio-economic variables, which, in some studies, have been shown to impact participation in social movements (e.g., Sherkat and Blocker 1994; Irons 1998). These are the level of *education*, personal *income*, *gender*, and *age*.

6. Analysis and results

The results of the analysis are presented in two ways: 1) as a correlation matrix (Table 2) with all the statistically significant partial correlations between all of the variables in the model, and 2) as a reduced graph (Figure 4) that shows all significant direct and primary indirect variable relationships with the dependent variables, participation in low- and high-risk activism.

Before commenting on the hypotheses individually, we will outline the overall results. The graph in Figure 4 supports the nuanced processual approach that has been the tenet of this article, and we have empirically established that there are multiple paths to participation in movement activity. In very broad terms, there seem to be three different trajectories to movement activity in the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement: 1) A movement socialization and structural availability track, where previous movement activity leads to participation in activism. 2) A network and emotions track, where people with previous movement activity prompted by the influx of refugees become active in the refugee movement when they experience a feeling of anger toward the authorities. 3) A values and emotions track, where people who have a general predisposition of self-transcendent values at

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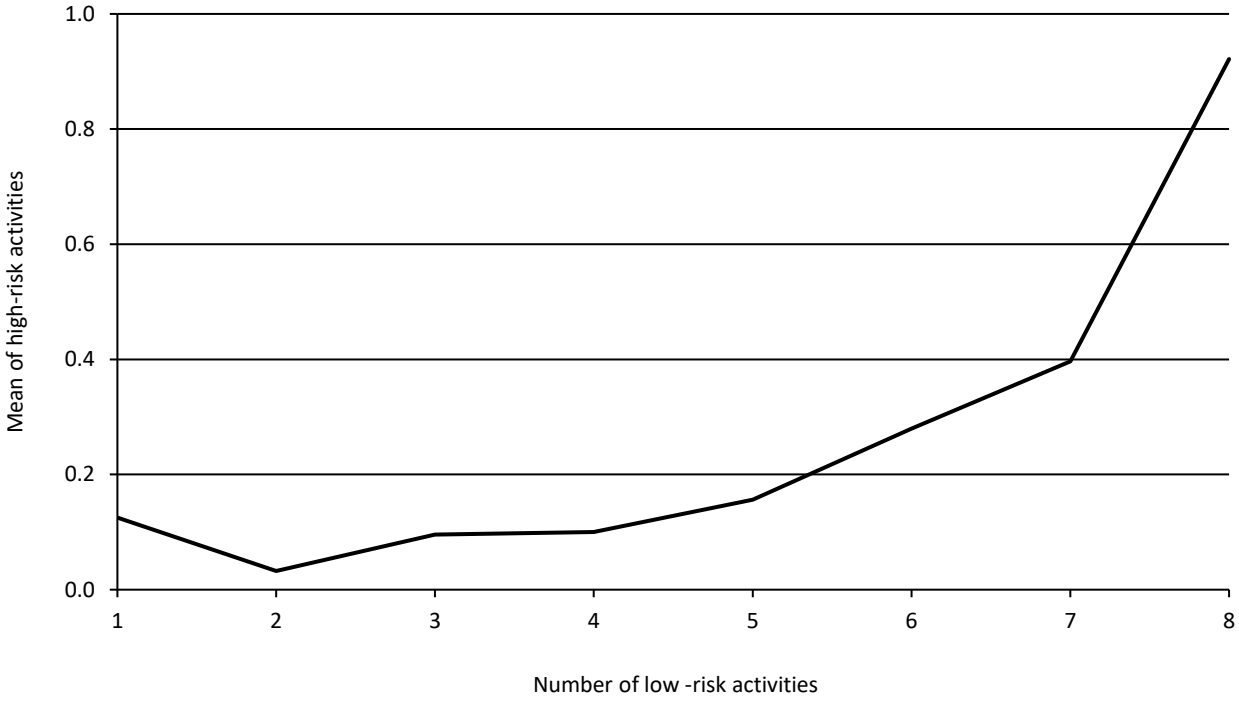
the emergence of a sudden dramatic event with a humanitarian appeal experience a feeling of solidarity and compassion which leads to engagement in the movement. In the following discussion of the results in relation to the hypotheses, we will add further nuance and detail to these findings.

Figure 3. The means of the number of high-risk activities by the number of low-risk activities



The relationship between high- and low-risk activity

Hypothesis 1 stated that *low- and high-risk activism are strongly related*. As expected, the correlation between high- and low-risk activity is very strong (γ=0.50, $p<0.001$), and, as Figure 3 shows, the relationship is slightly curvilinear. For people who have participated in three or more activities, the relationship accelerates. This indicates that people who perform several low-risk activities also perform several high-risk activities. This supports hypothesis 1[12] and McAdam's (1986) theoretical framework.

[12] The number of respondents who performed eight low-risk activities is 135. Of these, 35 respondents performed two or more high-risk activities.

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However, the analysis also shows that, even among people who perform very few low-risk activities, some have also performed high-risk activities. This modifies hypothesis 1 in the sense that, in relatively few cases, people may perform high-risk activities such as hiding refugees even though they have not previously been active in the movement.

Emotions

Hypothesis 2 stated that *individuals who are morally shocked might engage in, primarily low-risk, but also high-risk, activism without significant prior history of activism and with few, if any, network connections* are supported overall. We find that emotional reactions of anger and responsibility are strongly correlated with the activity variables. Compassion is strongly correlated with anger and responsibility, suggesting an indirect effect of compassion on low- and high-risk activism. Where both anger and responsibility are related to low-risk activism, only responsibility influences involvement in high-risk activism, suggesting that moral shocks are more likely to lead to low-risk activism than high-risk activism.

Contrary to the hypothesis, anger does not just induce activity by itself but also functions as a mediating factor between network embeddedness and participation in low-risk activity. One way of interpreting this unforeseen interaction is that, due to activist network socialization involving politicized collective identification (Simon and Klandermans 2001) processes of cognitive (McAdam 2013, 1999) and emotional liberation (Flam 2005), people who are embedded in pre-existing networks may be more politically conscious (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017) of refugee and immigration politics than newcomers. Their knowledge of the political context makes them, to a higher degree, not only react with compassion and responsibility for the refugees, but also with anger toward the government's anti-refugee policy. Thus, emotions should be considered as a mediator of network effects alongside the mediating processes of incentives, identification, communication and ongoing recruitment that were identified by Tindall (2002).

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Specifically in relation to refugee solidarity activism, at first glance, the result that anger with government is positively associated with the degree of activity appearing to run contrary to findings from a recent German study showing that, "satisfaction with the way the government deals with the refugees […] increases activity, as do beliefs that it is Germany's moral responsibility to accept refugees" (Kiess, Lahusen, and Zschache 2018, 58). However, the findings, we argue, are supporting each another because the Danish and German cases are very different when it comes to the role of government. During the refugee crisis, Denmark had a hardliner, anti-immigration government whereas the German government, reflected by Chancellor Angela Merkel's famous "Wir shaffen das!" remark, considered the refugees their responsibility. Thus, the findings that, on the on hand, the German refugee solidarity activists relatively positive view of the government is related to a belief that Germany is morally obligated to help refugees, and other the hand, the Danish refugee solidarity activists anger with the Danish government and feelings of responsibility and compassion with refugees is associated with a higher degree of activity, are in fact consistent when we take the opposing refugee policies of the Danish and German governments during summer and fall 2015 into account.

Microstructures

Hypothesis 3 specified that *being biographically available is associated with a higher level of involvement in low- as well as high-risk activism.* This hypothesis is not supported. None of the measures of biographical availability have significant relations, directly or indirectly, to the dependent variable. However, the rejection of the hypothesis is only related to the question of differential participation among activists and not recruitment. This suggests that, if biographical availability matters, it is to differential recruitment, not studied here, and not differential participation.

Hypothesis 4 assumed that *structural availability* (*personal and organizational networks) is positively associated with participation in low-risk activism*. The level of involvement in low-risk activities is positively correlated with structural availability measured as being part of an activist network

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prior to the events in September 2015. However, the other measures of network - organizational network, personal network, and organizational capital - have no direct or indirect effect on activity. This is highly surprising, given the salience of network explanations in the literature (e.g., McAdam 1986; Wiltfang and McAdam 1991; Nepstad and Smith 1999) and points to a need to differentiate between different kinds of network. Being active in a network prior to September correlates with participation in low-risk activism after September, which is in accordance with the theory, but, surprisingly, other people's invitations to participate as well as ties to the wider civil society do not play a role for the degree of participation in low- or high-risk activism. This may have to do with the distinction between participation and recruitment: the bulk of research supporting the invitation hypothesis relates to the initial recruitment process and not to variation in participation among activists.

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Table 2. Statistically significant partial γ-coefficients

	Variables	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r
a	Low-risk activity																		
b	High-risk activity	.50***																	
c	Compassion																		
d	Responsibility	.24***	.22***	.68***															
e	Anger	.22***		.37***	.46***														
f	Personal invitation																		
g	Organizational invitation					-.20**	.45***												
h	Occupation																		
i	Parenthood																		
j	Active before Sept.	.25***				.20***													
k	Previous refugee act.		.15**								.26***								
l	Previous other act.											.69***							
m	Organizational capital						.11**		-.17***										
n	Life is given	.10***		.22***	.30***		.11**							-.06**					
o	Master of life													-.06**					
p	Income								-.68***	.24***				.10*		.15***			
q	Education		.12*				-.20**								-0.9***	-.08**	.43***		
r	Gender			-.35***								.06**			-.12**		.18**		
s	Age									-.59***			.09**		-.11***	-.20***	.16**	-.17***	.13***

Notes: Solid vertical and horizontal lines delimit the recursive block structure. Correlations in the diagonal of the block structure represent symmetric relations and correlations below the diagonal represent directed relationships.
* = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

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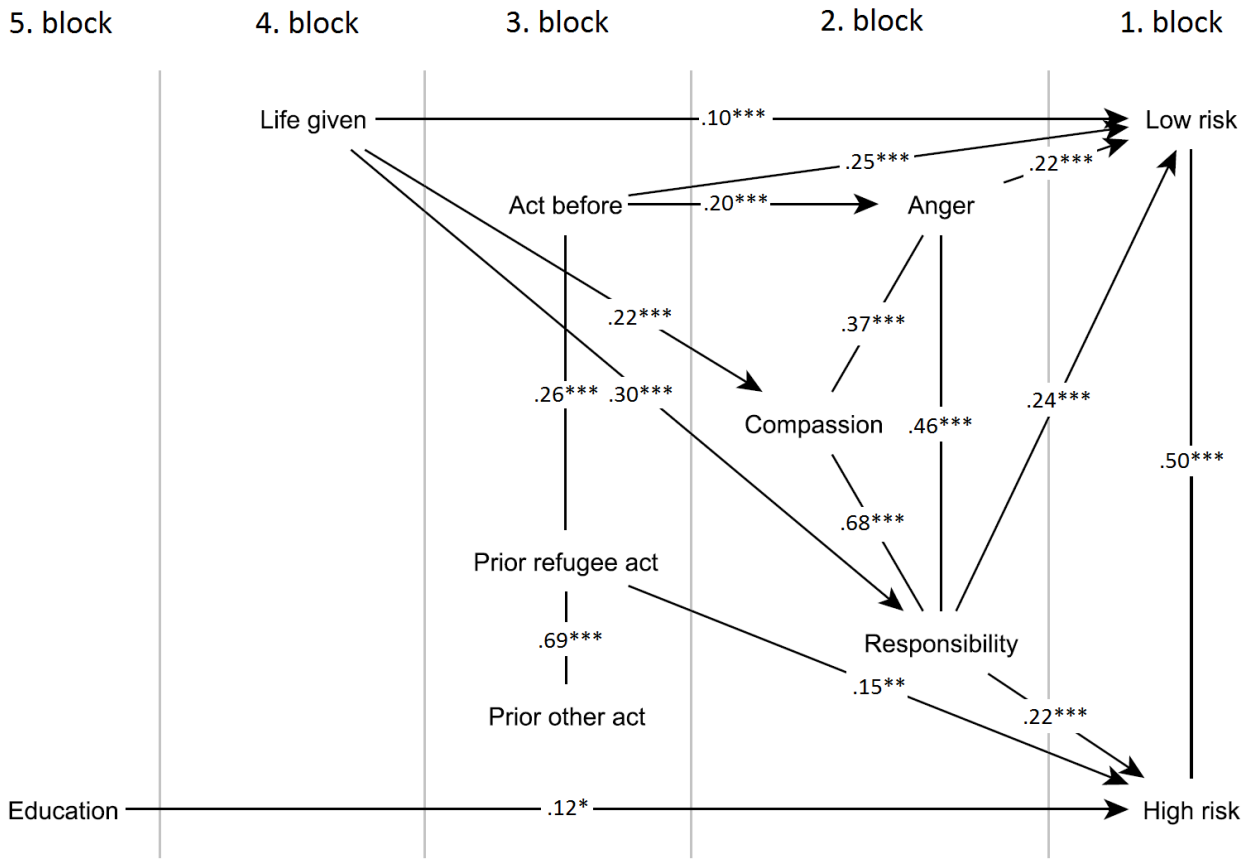
Figure 4. Graph of relationships with path length to independent variables ≤ 2



Note: Vertical grey lines indicate the recursive block structure. Edges indicate relationships. If relationships are asymmetric, arrowheads indicate the direction of relationship. Numbers indicate partial γ-coefficients and * = p<.05, ** = p<.01, *** = p<.001.

Hypothesis 5 concerns the process of movement socialization which takes center stage in the theories of recruitment to high-risk activism (McAdam 1986) and participation in activism in general (van Stekelenburg and Klandermans 2017). It states that *the longer the history of activism, the more likely participation in high-risk activism*. The results show a complex picture and indicate that it is important to nuance the understanding of the history of activism. We find that only prior activism in relation to the refugee issue has a direct effect on participation in high-risk activism, whereas the effect of other kinds of prior activism is indirect, mediated by a very strong symmetrical relationship with prior activism related to the refugee issue. This, in turn, raises the question of the possibility of spillover effects between participation in activity in different kinds of movements. The strong corre-

lation between prior refugee-related activism and other kinds of prior activism indicates that being active in one movement increases the likelihood of being active in another movement (Dekker, Koopmans, and Broek 1997). However, when it comes to the question of differential participation and the degree of involvement, it seems that only experiences from an issue-specific context count.

Values

Finally, hypothesis 6, that *adherence to the value of life as given directly increases the likelihood of involvement in low-risk activism and indirectly through emotional reactions*, is supported. The direct effect on low-risk activism is, however, not very strong (.10) but significant ($p<0.001$), whereas life as given has relatively strong effects on compassion and responsibility as mediating factors to low-risk activity and therefore the combined effect is quite substantial.

According to Løgstrup's theory of the ethical demand, we would expect people with a view of life as given to react with compassion and a feeling of responsibility for the refugees, which is supported by the statistical findings. In contrast, anger is not a mediator of the values of life as given. This apparent difference in the relation to values of the three emotional reactions is puzzling. Even though they all are strongly correlated, the γ-coefficient of compassion and responsibility (.68) is notably stronger than those of anger, compassion (.37) and responsibility (.48). At the same time, anger is influenced by being embedded in activist networks, which is not the case for compassion and responsibility. This may suggest a qualitative difference to the emotional reactions of, on the one side anger, and, on the other, compassion and responsibility.

In a more general perspective, the finding that values of self-transcendence and view of life as given is positively associated with activism is consistent with the finding of a number of studies that generalized social trust is an important precondition for solidarity activism in general (Trenz and Grasso 2018) in refugee solidarity activism in particular (Kiess, Lahusen, and Zschache 2018; Maggini 2018). In Løgstrup's own theory (Løgstrup 1997) and also in the writing of others (e.g., Freder-

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iksen and Heinskou 2016) the propensity to trust is strongly related to values of a view of life as given and therefore that such values and generalized trust in different studies of different cases and data are found to be positively related to refugee solidarity activism can be seen as consistent.

In sum, while most of the hypotheses, in general, are substantiated, some are refuted, and, in several cases, we find new and nuanced results that show interesting interactions between the explanatory factors. This leads to the conclusion, where we summarize and discuss the implications of the findings for the theories of the processes of differential recruitment to, and participation in activism.

7. Conclusion and discussion

In September 2015 a massive mobilization of the Danish Refugee Solidarity Movement occurred when hundreds of thousands of refugees came to Europe, including Denmark. Based on data from 1,856 survey participants recruited via Facebook, this paper studied drivers for refugee solidarity activism. In a statistical chain graphical block model, we analyzed how three sets of factors influence participation in low- and high-risk activism at the individual micro-level. The three sets of factors influencing participation in activism relate to three different theoretical approaches in the literature on differential recruitment to, and participation in, movement activism: a) emotions and moral shocks, b) micro-structural explanations of structural availability, movement socialization, and biographical availability, and c) value predispositions.

Before the September 2015 mobilization, a refugee solidarity movement already existed and had been building up for some time. Therefore, in this same study, we were able to include both theories of the sudden outburst of activity due to moral shocks and outrage as well as theories that focus on the role played by existing networks. Furthermore, the repertoire of the refugee solidarity movement makes it a strategic case for analyzing participation in two kinds of activism: the relatively rare, sometimes illegal, high-risk activities, such as helping refugees across the border to other countries,

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and the more common low-risk activities, such as petitioning or providing food, clothes, and medicine for the refugees.

Overall, the article provides two main results: First, the empirical analysis shows that the factors related to the three theoretical approaches interact with and mediate each other. Thus, the three theoretical approaches are neither competing nor simply complementary. Instead, the general picture is that the processes that lead to activity combine the factors that are associated with each of the theoretical frameworks (except for one trajectory where the history of activism related to the refugee issue has a direct impact on high-risk activity and does not relate to values or emotions). The need to combine several factors in explaining activity implies that rather than viewing the theories as conflicting (Goodwin and Jasper 1999; Jasper 1997; Polletta 1999; Tilly 1999; Meyer 1999; Tarrow 1999) they should be reconciled in a theoretical integration (Aminzade and McAdam 2002; Jasper 2011).

The second set of conclusions concern the main objective of the present study: to further our understanding of the similarities, differences, and entanglement of the processes of participation in low- and high-risk activism. In the following, we state the results for low- and high-risk separately and discuss the theoretical implications of the findings.

Differential participation in low-risk activism appears to be the result of different processes involving a variety of factors: emotional reactions of anger and responsibility are central in explaining variation in the level of participation in low-risk activism. However, structural availability due to embeddedness in activist networks is also an important direct influence, and, at the same time, it has an indirect effect mediated by the emotional reaction of anger, implying that the reaction of anger in part depends on network embeddedness. Finally, basic human values denoting a certain view of life is a predisposition that not only directly influences the level of participation in low-risk activism, but its impact on activity is also mediated by the emotional reactions of compassion and responsibility. In contrast to the literature on differential recruitment, we find that invitations to participate and em-

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beddedness in the wider civil society have no impact on activity. This may be due to two features of the study design. 1) In contrast to most studies which focuses on recruitment, this study focuses on within-movement participation and, therefore, it does not include non-participants or non-movement members. 2) Our case is a movement organized primarily on the social media of Facebook. The ease of joining a Facebook group renders to some extent the importance of invitation through personal and organizational networks obsolete.

Turning to high-risk activism, the results convincingly support McAdam's (1986) strong focus on socialization in activist networks, but that values and emotions also play a significant role. In general, socialization in groups and networks of activists plays a crucial role in recruitment to high-risk activism. The longer the history of issue-specific activism and the higher the level of participation in low-risk activism, the higher the chance of participation in high-risk activism. In addition to movement socialization and experience with activism, there appears to be an alternative route to participation in high-risk activism. This trajectory is rooted in emotions where the value of life as given impacts on high-risk activity mediated by compassion and responsibility. This is, however, quite rare, and the usual route involves a mix of processes of socialization in activist networks and situation-specific emotional reactions.

This finding is an important addition to McAdam's (1986) microstructural approach to recruitment to high-risk activism. In the current analysis, we find that emotional reactions and value predispositions also play a role for the level of participation in high-risk activism, even though it is more limited than in relation to participation in low-risk activism. This overall pattern bears a resemblance to Dauphinais et al.'s (1992) general model of how commitment/identification and network influence on recruitment to low- and high-risk activism, which stipulated that networks were almost indispensable to recruitment to high-risk activism, whereas, to low-risk activism, strong commitment and identification with movement goals might be sufficient.

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In addition to these conclusions about the general patterns, at the more detailed level, the study reveals an important distinction in the role played by the microstructural factors of the history of activism and network embeddedness. Network embeddedness influences participation in low-risk activism but not high-risk activism, while the opposite is the case for history of activism. This suggests that what is important to the degree of participation in low-risk activism is being structurally available when opportunities for taking action present themselves, as was the case when the refugees arrived in September 2015. In contrast, structural availability does not appear to be of significant importance to participation in high-risk activism, or, at least, its influence is only indirect. Rather, level of activist experience and movement socialization measured by history of activism is what matters to participation high-risk activism. This points to the importance of carefully distinguishing between the different microstructural explanations in relation to recruitment to, and participation in, different kinds of activism.

In relation to emotions, the patterns of interactions at the more detailed level are suggestive of theoretical innovation. The finding that, on the one hand, anger is a mediator of network embeddedness and not of the values of viewing life as given, and, on the other, compassion and responsibility are mediators of values but not of network embeddedness, indicates that the three emotions are qualitatively different. We suggest that this difference in the functioning of the emotions may tentatively be made theoretically meaningful by distinguishing between ethics and morals. Løgstrup, not diverting from the general trend in moral philosophy, views morals as being related to the societal-cultural constructs of norms and conventions stipulating what is *right and wrong*. In our case, anger due to the authorities not taking appropriate care of the refugees thus qualifies as a moral emotion, and the fact that anger in part depends on developing a politicized collective identity and political consciousness in activist networks fits the definition of morals. Ethics in general as well as Løgstrup's ethical demand in particular, on the other hand, concern distinguishing between *good and bad* and transcends the norms, conventions, and principles relative to culture. In our case, the emotions of

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compassion and responsibility for the refugee appear to be ethical emotions, because they relate to the ethical dimension of the relationship between activist and refugee distinguishing bad from good in the given situation and demanding the activist to do the good: in this case, to take care of the refugee. Also, that the propensity to react with such emotions partially depends on value predisposition fits Løgstrup's theory of ethics. Thus, we propose to define them as ethical emotions distinct from moral emotions. However, these are only preliminary considerations, and more theoretical work is needed to develop such a distinction between moral and ethical emotions.

In closing, we point to two notable limitations to the generalizability of the findings of this study. First, the refugee *solidarity* movement is active in relation to the benefit and on behalf of others. Therefore, the results from this movement may only cautiously be generalized to movements that act on behalf and to the benefit of their group. For instance, the emotions of compassion and responsibility, which take center-stage in the present study as well as the importance of the ethical factors, may be specific to solidarity activism. This does not necessarily imply that the overall three-category model (emotions, microstructures, and values) is irrelevant to other types of movement, but rather that the relevant variables of each category may vary from one movement to another. Second, this paper considers activism as being differentiated by risk. The participation process would probably be different in the case of distinguishing between the activities along another dimension. At the same time, these reservations point to the need for further research into the processes of differential recruitment and participation in activism that will advance our understanding of the complex interplay between microstructure, emotions, values, and additional categories not included in this study.

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Appendix. Variables included in the full model

Block 1. Dependent variables

Low-risk activity. Number of kinds of low-risk activity

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	120	6.47	6.47
2	216	11.64	18.1
3	272	14.66	32.76
4	329	17.73	50.48
5	314	16.92	67.4
6	268	14.44	81.84
7	184	9.91	91.76
8-10	153	8.24	100.00
Total	1856	100.00	

High-risk activity. Number of kinds of high-risk activity

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,543	83.14	83.14
1	241	12.98	96.12
2	38	2.05	98.17
3-5	34	1.83	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 2. Biographical availability, Emotions, and structural availability

Occupation. Work time

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Full time	787	42.40	42.40
Other	1,069	57.60	100.00
	1,856	100.00	

Parenthood. Children living at home

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	1,059	57.06	57.06
Yes	797	42.94	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Compassion

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	24	1.29	1.29
2	26	1.40	2.69
3	85	4.58	7.27
4	388	20.91	28.18
5	1,333	71.82	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Responsibility

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	32	1.72	1.72
2	30	1.62	3.34
3	158	8.51	11.85
4	474	25.54	37.39
5	1,162	62.61	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Anger

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	63	3.39	3.39
2	89	4.80	8.19
3	188	10.13	18.32
4	349	18.80	37.12
5	1,167	62.88	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

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Personal invitation. "Were you invited to join by a person?"

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	928	50.00	50.00
Colleagues or acquaintances	252	13.58	63.58
Friends, family, other activists	676	36.42	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Organizational invitation. "Were you invited to join in a newsletter or a meeting in an association?"

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
No	1,712	92.24	92.24
Encouraged by association	144	7.76	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 3. Structural availability, and socialization

Active before September. Time of recruitment

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Became active in September 2015 or later	809	43.59	43.59
Was active before September 2015	1,047	56.41	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Prior history of refugee activism. Number of kinds of activities

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,023	55.12	55.12
1	431	23.22	78.34
2	177	9.54	87.88
3	86	4.63	92.51
4	63	3.39	95.91
5-8	76	4.09	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Prior history of other activism. Number of kinds of activities

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	560	30.17	30.17
1	421	22.68	52.86
2	338	18.21	71.07
3	212	11.42	82.49
4	142	7.65	90.14
5-8	183	9.86	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Organizational capital

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0-3	74	3.99	3.99
4-5	255	13.74	17.73
6-7	497	26.78	44.50
8-11	826	44.50	89.00
12-18	204	11.00	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

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Block 4. View of life (basic human values)

View life as given. Self-transcendent values score on scale 4-20

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
4-13	61	3.29	3.29
14	71	3.83	7.11
15	139	7.49	14.60
16	211	11.37	25.97
17	337	18.16	44.13
18	387	20.85	64.98
19	379	20.42	85.40
20	271	14.60	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

View oneself as master as master of life. Self-enhancement values score on scale 4-20

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
4-5	155	8.35	8.35
6-7	266	14.33	22.68
8-9	436	23.49	46.17
10-11	466	25.11	71.28
12-13	324	17.46	88.74
14-15	144	7.76	96.50
16-20	65	3.50	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Block 5. Personal properties

Personal gross-income pr. year. (DKK/USD exchange rate≈7)

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
<149.999 DKK	294	15.84	15.84
150.000-249.999 DKK	327	17.62	33.46
250.000-399.999 DKK	615	33.14	66.59
400.000-599.999 DKK	463	24.95	91.54
>600.000 DKK	157	8.46	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Highest level of educational attainment

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Elementary school	56	3.02	3.02
High school	131	7.06	10.08
Vocational training	153	8.24	18.32
Short and medium cycle higher edu.	795	42.83	61.15
Long cycle higher education	721	38.85	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Gender

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Female	1,563	84.21	84.21
Male	279	15.03	99.25
Neither	14	0.75	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

Age

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
<21	33	1.78	1.78
21-30	230	12.39	14.17
31-40	339	18.27	32.44
41-50	414	22.31	54.74
51-60	389	20.96	75.70
61-70	364	19.61	95.31
>70	87	4.69	100.00
Total	1,856	100.00	

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